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June 16, 1959

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY

FROM : S/P - Gerard C. Smith

SUBJECT: A New Western Proposal Re West Berlin.

Before this Conference breaks up or adjourns it may be well formally to table a comprehensive Western plan for West Berlin which would have greater propaganda appeal than our present position and which might give the Soviets some difficulty. Our public relations effort could then focus on this positive proposal in regard to West Berlin, as it focuses on the "Western Peace Plan" in regard to Germany - instead of, as at present, having to focus largely on our negative reaction to the "Free City" proposal or on vaguely defined Western suggestions for "improvements".

The following elements of such a proposal are suggested:

1. A "Guaranteed City" status for West Berlin having an alternative life expectancy of either five years or until reunification (let the Soviets take their pick). If they pick the five year period, it would be agreed that free elections should be held at the end of that period in West Berlin to choose between (i) continuation of the "Guaranteed City" status until reunification, (ii) restoration of the status quo ante.

2. Under the "Guaranteed City" status:

(a) Western troops would remain as official guarantors of the security of the city. Soviet troops would be allowed to join the guaranteeing forces if requested by the West Berlin Government.

(b) Free civilian

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(b) Free civilian and military access would be guaranteed by the Four Powers under present procedures, whether or not German personnel were employed to perform some of these procedures.

(c) The Western Powers would agree (i) not to increase their troops in Berlin, (ii) to reduce these troops to 10,000 men after the "Guaranteed City" had been in effect for a fixed period, (iii) not to deploy nuclear weapons or ballistic missiles to West Berlin.

(d) West Berlin would retain all of its political, economic, and social relations with the FRG.

(e) The Western Powers would agree not to exercise their "occupation" right to intervene in the internal affairs of West Berlin, so long as the "Guaranteed City" was in effect.

(f) Limited UN observers would be stationed in Berlin and along the access routes to observe fulfillment of the agreement, which would be registered with the UN.

(g) Any disputes arising out of the agreement would be settled by a Quadripartite Commission representing the Four Powers. If this Commission could not reach a consensus on any dispute which satisfied all the parties that the agreement was being fulfilled, the "Guaranteed City" status would be suspended and the status quo ante would be restored.

3. We might suggest that the "Guaranteed City" status would only come into effect upon its approval in a West Berlin plebiscite. We should stress the principle that any change in the status of Berlin must be based upon popular consent. This is one part of the world where our position has overwhelming popular support and we ought to capitalize on this in every possible way.

4. There may be some negotiating, as well as propaganda, advantage in tying

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advantage in tying in certain non-Berlin proposals with this offer. We are now, in effect, trying to get the Soviets to give us something we do not have: An explicit Soviet assurance that military and civil access will not be harassed and that our Berlin presence will not be challenged in the future. We have very little to offer in return, since any major concessions we might make on Berlin - e.g., drastic reduction of forces - would call our position in Berlin into question. If we are to get an agreement which significantly limits the Soviet ability to create future difficulties in Berlin, therefore, we may well have to offer some non-Berlin counter-concessions. One possibility might be an agreement not to transfer nuclear weapons into the national custody of non-nuclear powers, so long as other agreements concluded at the same time (i.e., the Guaranteed City) are being observed. This would not interfere with our present plans for the NAAG stockpile, but would give the Soviets some assurance against the development of a national German nuclear capability.

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